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J.V. STALIN'S DOCTRINE *of the* SOCIALIST STATE

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Prior to Marxism, which is based on the materialist conception of history, no science of society and of its origin and development existed. Pre-Marxian sociology was devoid of scientific content nor did it possess any scientific value, for those engaged in its pursuit during that epoch lacked the genuinely scientific method which an investigation into social phenomena and social relations requires. Sociologists like Spencer and Comte, Rousseau and Proudhon, Mikhailovsky and Bakunin were unable to give a scientific explanation of the origin of ideas and consequently could not assign to them their proper place in the history of the development of human society. Instead of elucidating social phenomena and social relations in the light of science they proceeded from arbitrary, scientifically unsubstantiated hypotheses.

"Hitherto," wrote Lenin on this score in his famous work *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, "bring unable to descend to such simple and primary relations as the relations of production, the sociologists proceeded directly to investigate and study the political and legal forms, *stumbled* on the fact that these forms arise out of certain ideas held by men in the period in question—and there they *stopped*...."* (Italics mine.—*A.V.*)

* V. I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, Moscow 1951, p. 19.

Lenin's characterization of the pre-Marxian sociologists hits the nail squarely on the head. These scientists just stumbled on the fact that social forms had arisen; they did not arrive at this conclusion by dint of scientific effort. Groping blindly in a maze of subjective hypotheses constructed with the aid of purely abstract, speculative reasoning they naturally looked to the development of ideas for the explanation of why political and legal forms came into existence and developed, while deducing the development of ideas from these selfsame ideas. Thus the viscous circle of their logic was completed. Lenin's assertion that the sociologists "stopped" after explaining that political and juridical forms had their origin in certain ideas entertained by men emphasized the impotence and poverty of pre-Marxian sociology.

Marxism shows the sociologists the way out of the impasse by

revealing the true origin of social consciousness and drawing the conclusion that the course of ideas depends on the course of things.

Lenin emphasized this fact as being of exceptional importance in the history of sociology, pointing out that "this hypothesis was the first to elevate sociology to the level of a science. Hitherto, sociologists had found it difficult to distinguish in the complex network of social phenomena which phenomena are important and which unimportant (that is the root of subjectivism in sociology) and had been unable to discover any objective criterion for such a distinction."*

* *Ibid.*, p. 20.

The principal defect in the sociological theories which prevail in bourgeois science and serve the interests of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries is one of method. Bourgeois sociologists describe and explain social phenomena to suit the book of the classes in power, to justify capitalism and the social relations existing in the countries where it holds sway.

Even the most conspicuous sociologists before Marx were of a calibre too small to have a correct understanding of the root causes of the class contradictions and class struggles which they themselves, particularly those who lived under capitalism, witnessed, not to speak of their inability to forecast the trend of these contradictions and to comprehend and formulate the laws governing this development.

Marxism terminated the lamentable state in which sociology found itself.

". . . Marx put an end to the view that society is a mechanical aggregation of individuals, which allows of any kind of modification at the will of the powers that be (or, what amounts to the same thing at the will of society and the government) and which arises and changes in a fortuitous way; he was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis by establishing the concept of the economic formation of society as the sum total of given relations of production and by establishing the fact that the development of these formations is a process of natural history."*

The recognition of social development as a process of natural history was tantamount to recognizing that social development is a phenomenon endowed with regularity, that it is subject to the operation of the laws that characterize each historical epoch. It is not the task of the student of sociology to *predict* the road social development may take or to divine the "prospects for the future," but to cognize the laws of the present.

Speaking of Marx's *Capital* as the chief and basic work in which the theory of scientific Socialism is set forth, Lenin pointed out that *Capital* "restricts itself to the most general allusions to the future and traces only those already existing elements from which the future system is growing. Everybody knows that as regards prospects for the future incomparably more was contributed by the earlier Socialists, who described the future society in every detail, desiring to enthuse mankind with a picture of a system under which people will get along without conflict and under which their social relations will be based not on exploitation but on true principles of progress, conforming to the conditions of human nature. Nevertheless, in spite of a whole phalanx of highly talented people who expounded these ideas, and in spite of the most highly convinced Socialists, their theories stood aloof from life and their programs from the political movements of the people until large-scale machine industry drew the mass of the proletarian workers into the vortex of political life, and until the true slogan of their struggle was found."*

* V. I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, pp. 95-96.

This "true slogan" was found by Marx; it was developed and brilliantly applied by Lenin and Stalin, the two men of genius who built that most powerful state, the first socialist country in the world.

The discovery of this slogan was a result of the practical experience gained in the class struggle of the proletariat, a result of the deliverance, first of the vanguard and then of the mass of the working class, from the illusions and myths of petty-bourgeois "Socialism."

This was the basis on which the genuinely socialist theory of the emancipation of the proletariat, and consequently all of humanity, from exploitation was elaborated.

Lenin and Stalin, who made a deep study of the class struggle in Russia and throughout the world, have fulfilled their historic mission by developing the theory of Marx and Engels, which has become a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat, and by proving in practice that victorious socialist revolution is feasible.

The triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia, the establishment and florescence of a socialist Soviet state, the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is one of the paramount historic results of the victory of the ideas advanced by scientific Socialism.

Half a century ago Lenin predicted that victory would inevitably crown the struggle of the Russian proletariat which had risen to fight for Socialism side by side with the proletariat of all other countries. These prophetic words of Lenin have come true.

In his classic *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* Lenin wrote:

> It is on the working class that the Social-Democrats concentrate all their attention and all their activities. When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific Socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas spread far and wide, and when there arise among the workers durable organizations which will transform the present sporadic economic war of the workers into a conscious class struggle—then the Russian **WORKER**, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the **RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT** (side by side with the proletariat of **ALL COUNTRIES**) *along the straight road of open political struggle towards the* **VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.***

* V. I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight*

the Social-Democrats, p. 290.

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The theory of scientific Socialism is a summation of the revolutionary movement of the working class. "Scientific Socialism *without the working-class movement*," Stalin teaches, "is an idle phrase soon whistled down the wind."**

** J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 1, p. 115.

Stalin therefore demanded that particular attention be paid to the development of Socialist ideology, Socialist consciousness and Socialist theory, and too their inculcation in the workers' movement. As far back as 1905 he wrote that "the *spontaneous* working-class movement, the working-class movement *without Socialism*, inevitably becomes petty, and assumes a craft-unionist character—it submits to bourgeois ideology."***

*** *Ibid.*, p. 105.

This brought Stalin to the only possible conclusion, the right conclusion, namely, that Socialism and the working-class movement must be united. ". . . Practical activities and theoretical thought," Stalin teaches, "must merge into one an thereby lend the spontaneous labour movement a Social-Democratic character, for 'Social-Democracy is the working-class movement united with Socialism.'"* When that time arrives, Comrade Stalin continued, Socialism, united with the working-class movement, will change in the hands of the workers from idle talk to a most powerful force.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06.

By arming the working class with the great and potent scientific theory of Socialism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have shown it the way to Socialism.

Forty years ago Stalin wrote the following as he expounded Lenin's great ideas on the historical significance of uniting scientific Socialism with the working-class movement:

What is the labour movement *without Socialism*?—A

> ship without a compass which will reach the other shore in any case, but would reach it much sooner and with less danger if it had a compass.
>
> Unite the two and you will get a splendid vessel, which will speed straight towards the other shore and reach its haven unharmed.
>
> Unite the labour movement with Socialism and you will get a Social-Democratic movement which will speed straight towards the 'promised land.'*

We thus see what great value for the socialist transformation of society and the struggle and victory of the working class, for the victory of Socialism, Lenin and Stalin attach to scientific theory.

Marxism-Leninism is a foe of abstract hypotheses and conceptions, of illusory programs and plans. The requirement that one perceive the actual, real world of things, of people, classes and class relations, lies at the root of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. That the world, things, society and social relations be seen as they actually are is a prime condition of success in the struggle, a condition of victory.

This condition implies the rejection of dogmatism and of what Lenin called sectarism. Lenin Lenin teaches that revolutionary theory is not a dogma, that it takes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a really mass and really revolutionary movement, that theory must meet the interests of the proletariat and that then "the awakening of the protesting thought of the proletariat will inevitably guide this thought into the channels of Social-Democracy."*

* V. I. Lenin, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, p. 284.

The strength of Marxism-Leninism as the scientific theory of social development finds its highest expression in its critical and revolutionary essence.

Lenin teaches that this quality is indisputably inherent in, as part

and parcel of, Marxism. The same must be said with equal right of Leninism, which has raised the theory of scientific Socialism to a higher level of development.

It was forty-five years ago that V. I. Lenin couched his reply to one of the "accursed questions" of that time; the question of "what is to be done," in the following terms: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."** This formula is complemented by the following prophetic words: *"The role of the vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory."****

** V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, Moscow 1951, p. 41.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Leninism, i.e., Marxism in its higher form of development, arms the revolutionary proletariat with communist theoretical thought in its most perfect form, in which it summarizes the experience the workers and peasants have gained in their revolutionary battles for emancipation from oppression and exploitation.

The potent critical faculty with which Leninism is endowed was best discerned in the work of purging which devolved upon Lenin and Stalin during the struggle against the opportunists who were distorting Marxism and endeavouring to adapt this great revolutionary teaching to the interests of the capitalist camp. The leaders of the Second International, headed by Kautsky, did their utmost to take the edge off this keen weapon, to wrest it from the working class betrayed to the bourgeoisie by social-traitors of every hue and shade.

It is the great merit of Leninism that it performed the historic task of subjecting the entire arsenal of the Second International to examination and criticism, casting aside all that was rust-eaten and outmoded, and forging new weapons.

"It became necessary," Stalin wrote in his treatise, *The Foundations of Leninism*, "to examine the entire arsenal of the Second International, to throw out all that was rusty and antiquated, to forge new weapons. Without this preliminary work it was useless

embarking upon war against capitalism. Without this work the proletariat ran the risk of finding itself inadequately armed, or even completely unarmed, in the future revolution battles.

"The honour of bringing about this general overhauling and general cleansing of the Augean stables of the Second International fell to Leninism."*

* J. V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, Moscow 1950, p. 25.

Stalin is the pre-eminent continuator of Lenin's cause both in the scientific elaboration of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in the practical construction of Socialism. His scientific genius has discovered new features of paramount importance in the Marxist-Leninist theory, has discovered the full strength of this theory.

"Theory," we are taught by Stalin, speaking of Leninism, "is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspects. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 35.Theory is of tremendous importance in socialist construction. But practice, and practice alone, can test its strength and real value, can ascertain whether it is genuinely scientific.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary f the October Revolution, Stalin wrote in his article, "The International Character of the October Revolution," that this revolution had exposed the falsity and complete untenability of the hoary "theory" that the exploited cannot get along without exploiters, a "theory" that had been propagated by the Roman senator Menenius Agrippa and became the corner stone of the political philosophy of Social-Democracy.

"This 'theory,'" Stalin wrote as early as 1927, "Which has acquired the character of a prejudice, is now one of the most serious obstacles in the path of the revolutionization of the proletariat of the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this false "theory" a mortal blow."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 200.

During the thirty-two years of Soviet rule the October Revolution has dealt quite a few such blows to fallacious bourgeois theories. The experience of the broad masses has had its creative effect: old schemes of things are rectified, or discarded and replaced by new ones, by demands born of the practical struggle.

At the Sixth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks), held in July-August 1917, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the revolution in Russia was becoming constantly more thoroughgoing, putting social problems on the order of the day.

"It [the revolution is invading the sphere of economy," Stalin said in his report on the political situation, "posing such questions as workers' control in industry, the nationalization of the land and the supply of farming implements to the propertyless peasants, the organization of proper exchange between town and country, the nationalization of the banks, and, lastly, the seizure of power by the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasantry. The revolution has reached the point where socialist transformations are imperative."*

*J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 3, p. 173.

Stalin revealed the features peculiar to the Russian revolution, which was breaking through the limitations of bourgeois-democratic changes to the highway of socialist changes.

Stalin called upon the Party to discard the obsolete notion that Europe alone could point the way. "There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism," he said. "I take my stand upon the latter."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 3, p. 187.

This was thirty odd years ago. Throughout the course of these many years, the upbuilding of our socialist, Soviet state has invariably been governed by the principles of creative Marxism, which Lenin and Stalin have raised to a higher level of development, and which has ensured the splendid victories of Socialism, ensured the vitality,

strength and prosperity of the Soviet, socialist state, the fatherland of the working people of the entire world.

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Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution is a brilliant summation of the experience of the working-class movement throughout the world, the result of an analysis of the development of the antagonistic contradictions rooted in the very basis of the capitalist world, the result of a scientific analysis of imperialism and of its development, decay and death..

In dealing with Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution Stalin concisely expounded Lenin's law of the uneven, spasmodic economic and political development of capitalist countries, Stalin sowed at the same time how the striving of certain countries—precisely those which forge ahead in the course of this spasmodic development—to capture new points of vantage inevitably leads to armed conflict between the imperialist states. It was these contradictions, Stalin wrote in 1924, that gave rise, as is known, to the First World War. Stalin teaches that Lenin's law is based on five theses developed by Lenin in his classic work, *Imperialist, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. These these are so essential to a complete understand of the Lenin-Stalin theory of the proletarian revolution that they had best be quoted in full.

"This law," Stalin writes writes, "proceeds from the following:

"1) 'Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppressions and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of "advanced" countries' (Lenin, Preface to French edition of *Imperialism*, Vol. XIX, p.74);

"2) 'This "booty" is shared between two or three powerful world marauders armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain, Japan), who involve the whole world in *their* war over the sharing of *their* booty' (*ibid.*);

"3) In consequence of the growth of contradictions within the world system of financial oppression and of the inevitability of armed

clashes, the world front of imperialism becomes easily vulnerable to revolution, and a breach in this front in individual countries becomes probable;

"4) This breach is most likely to occur at those points, and in those countries, where the chain of the imperialist front is weakest, that is to say, where imperialist is least consolidated, and where it is easiest for a revolution to expand;

"5) In view of this, the victory of Socialism in one country, even if this country is less developed in the capitalist sense, while capitalism is preserved in other countries, even if these countries are more highly developed in the capitalist sense—is quite possible and probable."*

* J. V. Stalin, *The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists*, Moscow 1950, pp. 22-23.

Such is the great theory that worked a revolution in the science of Socialism. It is both creative and constructive. It is the theory that defined with mathematical precision the course which the 1917 revolution in Russian would take and presaged the inevitable victory of Socialism in our country, regardless of its backwardness at that time and regardless of the croaking of the Trotskyite crows that the Great October Socialist Revolution was doomed.

Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution dealt a staggering blow to the hostile, opportunist Menshevik "theories." It opened up magnificent new vistas of the victorious development of the socialist revolution and revealed the possibility of Socialism being victorious in one country.

Leninism inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the international working-class movement, in the history of scientific Socialism. It has supplied the theoretical explanation, the substantiation, of the new ways and means of fighting for Socialism. A quarter of a century ago, at the close of the seventh year of the Great October Revolution, Comrade Stalin wrote: "Most probably, in the course of development of the world revolution, side by side with the centres of imperialism in individual capitalist countries and the system of these countries throughout the world, centres of

Socialism will be created in individual Soviet countries and a system of these centres throughout the world, and the struggle between these two system s will fill the history of the development of the world revolution."*

* J. V. Stalin, *The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists*, p. 63.

Comrade Stalin made the following assumption: "Most probably, the world revolution will develop along the line of a number of new countries breaking away from the system of the imperialist states as a result of revolution, while the proletarians of these countries will be supported by the proletariat of the imperialist states. We see that the first country to break away, the first victorious country, is already being supported by the workers and the labouring masses in general of other countries. Without this support it could not hold out. Undoubtedly, this support will increase and grow. but there can also be no doubt that the very development of the world revolution, the very process of the breaking away from imperialism of a number of new countries will be the more rapid and more thorough, the more thoroughly Socialism fortifies itself in the first victorious country, the faster this country is transformed into a base for the further unfolding of the world revolution, into a lever for the further disintegration of imperialism."**

** *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

This exceptionally profound analysis, based on Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism, has been fully corroborated by the course of events in the countries of Eastern Europe after the Second World War, when a number of them dropped out of the capitalist system. The countries which had thus broken away, namely, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania became members of the family of democratic states, and now, after completing their transformation into people's democracies, have set firm foot on the road to Socialism. And it is under the Socialist flag and with the support of the Land of Socialism that they are building a new life for the welfare of their peoples.

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The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is not the outcome of a fortunate concurrence of historical circumstances. It is a result of the consistent, wise policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, a policy which reposes on the brilliant teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin concerning society and the state, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin proved that the question of the victory of Socialism in one country is the basic question of the proletarian revolution. The destiny of the proletarian revolution, its victorious development, can be achieved only by establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, by organizing new, socialist social relations and a new, socialist society.

The struggle for the general line of our Party, in support of the possibility of building Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the struggle against the Troskyite-Zinovievite renegades, who denied this possibility, was at the same time a struggle for the proletarian revolution.

By his exposure of the ignorance of these traitors and their apostasy from Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Stalin upheld and developed further Lenin's thesis that Socialism can be victorious in one country. Taking Lenin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat as his point of departure and defending this doctrine, Comrade Stalin described the structure and mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Party, showing that without these the proletariat "in its struggle for victory, would be a weaponless army in the face of organized and armed capital."*

* J. V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, p. 192.

Comrade Stalin gave the following classic definition of the three main aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"1) The utilization of the power of the proletariat for the suppression of the exploiters, for the defence of the country, for the consolidation of the ties with the proletarians of other lands, and for the development and the victory of the revolution in all countries.

"2) The utilization of the power of the proletariat in order to detach the toiling and exploited masses once and for all from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, to enlist these masses for the work of socialist construction, and to ensure the state leadership of these masses by the proletariat.

"3) The utilization of the power of the proletariat for the organization of Socialism, for the abolition of classes, for the transition to a society without classes, to a socialist society.

". . . Only all these three aspects taken together give us a complete and finished concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat."*

* *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

In irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of Leninism and of the Party, Comrade Stalin, together with Lenin, preserved the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat propounded by Lenin in all its purity. This struggle culminated in a splendid victory both in the field of theory and in the field of the practical construction of Socialism. It was a struggle carried on under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin and Stalin, the supreme theoreticians of Communism, the great organizers and leaders in the work of building the first socialist state in the world, the first state of workers and peasants, a state new in type. Soviet rule, wrote Lenin, is a new type of state, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin discovered Soviet power as a new form of state organization. The peculiar features of Soviet power as a new form of state organization were characterized by Lenin in the following words:

". . . For the transition from the bourgeois to the socialist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies is not only the form of a higher type of democratic institution (as compared with the usual bourgeois republic crowned by a Constituent Assembly), but is the only form capable of securing the most painless transition to Socialism."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Part 1, Moscow

1951, p. 355.

Addressing the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Lenin said: "One cannot deny the historical fact that Russia set up a Soviet republic. We assert that regardless of any setback—and without renouncing recourse to bourgeois parliamentarism if compelled by class forces hostile to us to retreat to that old position—we shall return to what we have already gained by experience, to Soviet government, to the Soviet type of state, a state of the type of the Paris Commune. This must find expression in the program. We shall introduce a program of Soviet power to take the place of the minimum program. A characterization of the new type of state should figure prominently in our program."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 112.

Lenin said that to democracy we assigned different tasks, that we changed the tasks of Socialism from the general abstract formula of "the expropriation of the expropriators" to such concrete formulae as the nationalization of the banks and the land. This, Lenin emphasized thirty-one years ago, became an essential part of the program then being drawn up by the Seventh Congress of our Party.

Comrade Stalin demonstrated the significance of the Soviets as the political basis of victorious Socialism, as the political foundation of the socialist state of workers and peasants.

The tremendous service performed by Comrade Stalin is his elaboration of the problems of the significance of the proletarian dictatorship, the role of the Soviets as the form of state assumed by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the significance of the Soviet machinery of government.

Speaking of certain specific features of Bolshevik tactics in the period preparatory to the October Revolution Comrade Stalin proved the epoch-making significance of the Soviets as the main organizational lever enabling the millions of the working people to achieve the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recalling Lenin's characterization of the Soviets as a new state machine that provides all the conditions essential for the victory of the

proletarian revolution, Comrade Stalin pointed out the road along which the Soviet led the popular masses to the October Revolution.

A defender of the purity and grandeur of Lenin's teaching on socialist construction against opportunist, counterrevolutionary distortion, Comrade Stalin never fails to steer the Party and the whole of the Soviet people towards the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet state as the political form of this dictatorship.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that among the specific features of the Soviet state were also its methods and special forms of struggle. They were methods peculiar to it.

"Socialism must achieve this advance *in its own way*, by its own methods—or, to put it more concretely, by *Soviet* methods."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Part 1, p. 458.

The main features peculiar to these methods are: joint discussion with the masses of the means to be employed in the common cause; making up for lost time; educating the masses and learning together with them from the experience acquired how to build Socialism, without being afraid to depart from Socialist principles, from the principles of the Commune, where this is inevitable.

Lenin teaches that after the proletariat's accession to power the "force of example for the first time is able to exercise influence on the masses."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 473.

The peculiarities, which distinguish the methods of operation of the organs of Soviet state administration, taken in combination with the socialist nature of Soviet democracy, which is a superior type of democracy, have created a polity unprecedented in history—a Soviet polity.

Proceeding from the principles of Leninism, Comrade Stalin has provided a complete solution of the problem of the Party and the Soviet state, one of the most important and urgent problems of

socialist construction: "Without the Party as the main guiding force, a dictatorship of the proletariat to any extent durable and firm is impossible."*

* J. V. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, p. 196.

Basing himself on the Leninist thesis that the Party is the highest form of proletarian class organization and that its political leadership must extend to all other forms of organization of the proletariat, including the Soviets, Comrade Stalin developed the doctrine of the leading role of the party of the working class in the building of Socialism.

The leading role of the Bolshevik Party is appropriately expressed in the text of the Stalin Constitution which states in Article 126 ". . . the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."

In exercising its leadership over the masses the Bolshevik Party relies principally upon its "ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party position and help them to realize by their own experience the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to raise the masses to the Party's level of consciousness, and thus secure the support of the masses and their readiness for the decisive struggle."*

* *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

The Soviet state derives its might and strength from the people, from its intimate connections with the millions of the people. No such state was ever known to history before, and this is the very reason why no state in the world except the Soviet state has possessed such strength and might. This is a truth which Lenin and Stalin have been teaching us to understand and which they have inculcated in the Party, arming it—this great vanguard of the millions of workers and peasants—with the idea of a firm and

indissoluble alliance of the working folk, the idea of friendship among the peoples and of the closest bond between the Party and the state. In the struggle with the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other traitors to the country it was the Party, Soviet power, that emerged victorious because the Party and Soviet power have been and are backed by the masses, by the whole Soviet people.

Stalin strengthened and developed the doctrine concerning the socialist state by drawing on the experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., of the construction and development of the Soviet, socialist state.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R as a result of the abolition of the exploiting classes and the firm establishment of state and common property, the bedrock of the entire political and social system of the Land of Soviets, brought to the fore a series of problems concerning the doctrine of the state. These theoretical problems which, besides, were of great practical importance, required solution. The one of greatest moment had a direct bearing on the destiny of the state itself, inasmuch as it raised the question of whether the continued existence of the state was justified when hostile classes had ceased to exist in our country and our society was moving toward Communism. Are we right, under the conditions indicated, in setting ourselves the task of further strengthening our socialist state instead of helping to wither away?

These paramount problems dealing with the socialist state required serious conditions as they were of far more than merely theoretical interest and had acquired vast practical importance.

In his report to the Eighteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin presented a detailed exposition of the doctrine concerning the socialist state in which he further developed Marxist-Leninist theory in this decisively important domain of scientific Communism.

One of the great merits of Comrade Stalin is his work on the theory of the state—the continuation and completion of an undertaking begun, but left unfinished by our great teacher Lenin due to his untimely death. Stalin's further development of Lenin's teaching opened a new chapter in the theory of the state, and of the socialist state in particular.

Speaking of the functions of the slave, the feudal, and the capitalist state Comrade Stalin showed that "two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on the Work of the Central Committee*, Moscow 1951, pp. 88-89.

Stalin teaches that the Soviet state, though set up in Russia in place of the destroyed state machine of the bourgeoisie, has preserved certain functions of the old state, *changed* to meet the *requirements* of the proletarian state. At the same time we know that the requirements of the proletarian state are determined by its nature, that is, the qualities, properties, peculiarities and principles inherent in it.

Stalin teaches that the forms and original functions of the Soviet state cannot remain unchanged.

"As a matter of fact, the forms of our state are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 89.

In this connection Stalin quotes Lenin to the effect that in the course of "the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from Communism," an abundance and variety of political forms are inevitable but that "the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Part 1, p. 234.

Stalin teaches that our socialist state has gone through two main phases of development since the October Revolution. Stalin's doctrine of the two phases of development of the socialist state is of particular importance, as it specifies the functions discharged by the Soviet state during each phase and the historical conditions and

causes by virtue of which these functions arose. The doctrine of the phases acquires additional importance from the fact that it reveals the law governing the further development and consolidation of the socialist state and the inevitable future changes in its functions.

"The first phase was the period from the October Revolution to the elimination of the exploiting classes. The principal task in that period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the defence of the country against the attack of the interventionists. . . ."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Report to the Eighteenth Congress*, p. 90.

Stalin teaches that in the second phase of development of the Soviet state "the function of military suppression within the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left and so there was no one to suppress."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 92.

However, in place of this function there appeared the function of safeguarding socialist property against thieves and pilferers of the people's wealth.. The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained which means the retention of the Soviet Army and Navy as well as of the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable "for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services.

"The function of economic organization and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full."***

***

Ibid.

The fact that the weapons of our army, punitive organs and the intelligence service are now turned not on the inside but the outside of our country, on the external enemies, is particularly stressed by Stalin in his doctrine of the socialist state.

Such is the socialist state and such are its functions in the second

phase of its development.

Speaking on the highly important problem of the dying off, or withering away, of the state Stalin showed that Engels' formula in *Anti-Dühring*, "the state (at a certain stage of its development—*A.V.*) is not 'abolished,' *it withers away*,"* is correct, but only on one of two conditions. The establishment of these conditions signified a new and gigantic step forward in the theory of the socialist state.

* F. Engels. *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow 1947, p. 417.

What are these conditions? Stalin teaches that there are two: the first—if we study the socialist state only from the angle of the internal development of the country, if the socialist state is taken in isolation from the international situation; the second—if we assume that Socialism has been victorious in all countries, or in the majority of them, that a socialist encirclement exists instead of a capitalist encirclement and that there is no danger any more of foreign attack and that there is no need any more to strengthen the army and the state.

"Well, but what if Socialism has been victorious only in one, separate country, and if, in view of this, it is quite impossible to abstract oneself from international conditions—what then?"* Engels' formula furnished no answer to this question.

* J. V. Stalin, *Report to the Eighteenth Congress*, p. 85.

The answer to this question was supplied by Stalin who pointed out that a country where Socialism has been victorious but which is encircled by capitalist countries and subject to the menace of aggression from without "must have its own state, strong enough to defend the conquests of Socialism from foreign attack."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Stalin's doctrine of the socialist state is a further and higher stage in the development of the Marxist-Leninist science of the state. It is at the same time a generalization of the wealth of experience gained in the construction of Socialism in a most powerful country, which throughout its existence has had to overcome tremendous obstacles

in the solution of its socialist problems. Stalin's doctrine provides the People's Democracies, which have embarked upon the road of socialist construction, with a mighty instrument, the power of orientation.

The strength of the socialist system and the socialist state is determined by the absence of class contradictions corrosive of social relations. Such contradictions in turn are determined by the character of the relations of production, relations based on the ownership of the means of production, which in the case of the U.S.S.R. is social. In his classical work *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* Stalin elucidated this great advantage enjoyed by the Soviet system, the socialist system.

> The basis of the relations of production under the socialist system, which so far has been established only in the U.S.S.R., is the social ownership of the means of production. Here there are no longer exploiters and exploited. The goods produced are distributed according to labour performed, on the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' Here the mutual relations of people in the process of production are marked by comradely cooperation and the socialist mutual assistance of workers who are free from exploitation. Here the relations of production fully correspond to the state of productive forces, for the social character of the process of production is reinforced by the social ownership of the means of production.
>
> For this reason socialist production in the U.S.S.R. knows no periodical crises of overproduction and their accompanying absurdities.
>
> For this reason the productive forces here develop at an accelerated pace, for the relations of production that correspond tot them offer full scope for such development.*

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, pp. 590-91.

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The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist multinational state.

The indestructible moral and political unity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and their evergrowing mutual friendship are of decisive importance for the success of socialist construction in our country.

The unity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is the mainspring f the enduring welfare of the Soviet state. This state has opened wide the door of opportunity to the numerous peoples of our Homeland, enabling them to grow and develop. It has brought about a renascence of these peoples, has stirred them to create a new life, a new culture, a life of genuine prosperity and unadulterated happiness.

The successes achieved in the upbuilding of the Soviet socialist state have mainly been due to the Lenin-Stalin national policy consistently pursued by the Soviet government. This policy has led to an unheard-of economic and cultural upsurge in our national border regions, the republics of our non-Russian nationalities, which have made gigantic strides during the Stalin five-year plan periods and are living examples of the triumph of the great ideas of Socialism. It has strengthened the fraternal bonds between the national republics and between them and the Soviet Union as a whole and has transformed the U.S.S.R. into a state capable of enduring any ordeal, a state which has given actual proof on many an occasion, particularly in recent years, of its impregnability and of its political might, unparalleled through the world.

Our national policy strictly adheres to definite principles. It is grounded in the genuinely scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism developed further by Comrade Stalin who, together with Lenin and on the basis of these principles, ensured the organization and viability of the first multinational socialist state.

The form assumed by this fraternal unification of nations, by their political union, is that of a federation of Soviet republics based upon the principle of voluntary association and mutual trust among the peoples concerned. "The voluntary nature of the federation,"

Comrade Stalin says, "must be preserved without fail, for only such a federation can become a form of transition to that higher unity of the working people of all countries in a single world economy the need for which is becoming more and more tangible."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 5, p. 23.

Soviet federation has nothing in common with bourgeois federation. Bourgeois federations have been the outcome of force, oppression, national war. Hence national antagonism, inequality before the law, relegation of the weak to the rear, exploitation of the culturally and economically backward and feeble by the strong.

The Soviet federation is a voluntary union based on legal equality, on the fraternal community of interests of the working people, on the principle of mutual aid and of assistance to those who lag behind in their cultural and economic development. Hence the strengthening of the ties between its constituent nations, the increasing gravitation toward unity. "Soviet power is so constituted," said Comrade Stalin on December 26, 1922, in his report at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, "that while international in its innermost essence it cultivates in every way among the masses the idea of unity and impels the mass to unite."*

* *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

Comrade Stalin has played a most conspicuous part in bringing the peoples of the U.S.S.R. closer together, in cementing the friendship between them, in defeating the Trotskyites, the Rights and other political degenerates and "deviators," Great-Russian chauvinists and local nationalists who sought to disrupt this friendship.

"It is necessary," Comrade Stalin wrote, "that Soviet power become just as near and dear to the popular masses in the national borderlands of Russia. But in order to become near and dear Soviet power must first of all become intelligible to them. All Soviet organs in the non-Russian border districts—the law courts, the administration, the economic bodies, the organs of direct power—(and also the Party organs) must therefore as far as possible be staffed with local people, people who know the life, customs, habits and language of the local population . . . so that the masses may see

that Soviet power and its organs are the product of their own efforts, the embodiment of their hopes. This is the only way to establish inviolable spiritual ties between the masses and the governmental authority, the only way to make Soviet government intelligible to the masses in the non-Russian borderlands and to bring it close to their hearts."* These borderlands subsequently became Autonomous and Union Republics of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical writings and organizational and practical activity ensured the fully consistent policy of the Soviet Government in the national question which has yielded such splendid results. Comrade Stalin took legitimate pride in being able to declare at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. that our experiment of forming a multinational state on the basis of Socialism had been successful and that it doubtlessly was a victory of the Leninist national policy.

Elaborating upon Lenin's ideas on the Soviet federative governmental system Comrade Stalin gave a detailed analysis of the constitutional principles underlying the Soviet federation.

In 1918 Comrade Stalin mapped out the principal methods to be employed to create a Soviet federation that would be a free union of peoples. In 1922 he sketched the contours of the future Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the historic Declaration of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopted by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets on December 30, 1922.

The birth of the Soviet Union is linked with the names of Lenin and Stalin, who were its founders in the literal sense of the word. When it was in formation Comrade Stalin predicted that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would become "a serious international force able to influence the international situation and to change it in the interests of the working people." Comrade Stain recalled that only five years previously the Soviet state had been "a small, barely perceptible quantity evoking the sneers of its enemies and the pity of many of its friends." "And what is the Soviet state today?" asked Comrade Stalin and replied: "A great Power of working folk which no longer evokes sneers but gnashing of teeth among its enemies."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 5, pp. 156 and 158.

The supreme triumph of socialist polity is our great constitution, which the people justly call the Stalin Constitution.

A path of enormous length was traversed in the twenty years' span from the issuance of the first decrees of the October Revolution to the adoption of the Fundamental Law of the U.S.S.R., on December 5, 1936. Throughout these years the Soviet socialist state stood vigilant guard over Socialism, over the achievements of our people who built a new world, the world of which mankind's best had been dreaming.

The Stalin Constitution is the principal source of Soviet, socialist law.

In the bourgeois countries the ruling circles flagrantly violate the law and trample upon elementary civil rights.

There is only one country on earth where human rights and justice rule supreme, where men are free and happy, united in a truly fraternal commonwealth of scores of nationalities, all enthusiastically building a new, communist society. This country is our native land, the Soviet Union, which flourishes and prospers under the standard of the Stalin Constitution, under the leadership of the great Stalin, this man of genius who is continuing Lenin's cause.

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The socialist state rests on the firm foundation of socialist relations of production, which themselves are based on public, socialist property. It is common knowledge that relations of production undergo change to confirm with changes in the productive forces. According to Stalin the productive forces are the most mobile and revolutionary element of production and at the same time the element that determines development.

Social ideas, which have their origin in the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, are in their turn a powerful force influencing the life of society, ,a powerful means of facilitating the creation of conditions capable of ensuring social progress.

"Here," Stalin teaches, "there stands out in bold relief the *tremendous role* of new social ideas, of new political institutions, of a new political power, whose mission it is to abolish by force the old relations of production. . . . The spontaneous process of development yields place to the conscious actions of men, peaceful development to violent upheaval, evolution to revolution."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 594.

These ideas should be such as would correctly reflect "the needs of development of the material life of society," as would be capable of "setting into motion broad masses of the people," capable of "mobilizing them and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society."**

** *Ibid.*, p. 581.

Comrade Stalin points to the "tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, new political views and new political institutions."***

*** *Ibid.*, p. 580.

Comrade Stalin posed and brilliantly solved a number of new problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, particularly that part of this theory which concerns the state.

"There can be no doubt," Comrade Stalin said, "that Lenin intended in the second volume of his book (*The State and Revolution—A.V.*) to elaborate and to further develop the theory of the state on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Report to the Eighteenth Congress*, p. 88.

It has been done by Stalin, our great teacher, the pre-eminent disciple of Lenin and the continuator of his cause, by Stalin who ensured the historic victories won by our most powerful proletarian

state and who now leads it steadfastly onward, to Communism.

In further development of the Leninist theory that Socialism can be built in one country, Comrade Stalin teaches that Communism, too, can be built in one, separate country even if encircled by capitalist states. Simultaneously he demonstrated the role and significance of the socialist state in triumphant communist construction.

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Under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party the Soviet people evinced supreme heroism in the struggle to fulfil the Lenin-Stalin plan of industrializing the country and collectivizing agriculture. Our country changed its appearance with astonishing rapidity, becoming a mighty industrial and kolkhoz power, so that Comrade Stalin could write, in 1929:

> We are advancing full steam ahead along the path of industrialization—to Socialism, leaving behind the age-old 'Russian' backwardness.
>
> We are becoming a country of metal, a country of automobiles, a country of tractors.
>
> And when we have put the U.S.S.R. on an automobile, and the muzhik on a tractor, let the esteemed capitalists, who boast so much of their "civilization,' try to overtake us! We shall see which countries may then be 'classified' as backward and which as advanced.*

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 300.

We are now witnessing the approach of a new world crisis that threatens the capitalist countries. Already one can hear the peals of thunder announcing the oncoming tempest that will bring with it a destruction of productive forces, of commodities accumulated by means of inhuman exploitation, and will condemn millions of people to a life of starvation and destitution. This storm holds no terrors, however, for the Soviet Union, nor does it menace the People's Democracies, which burst the chains of imperialism and have proceeded to build Socialism with the powerful support of the

Soviet socialist state.

After bringing the war to a victorious conclusion the peoples of the Soviet Union, confident of their strength, commenced the fulfilment of the Fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan, a quinquennial plan for the rehabilitation and further development of the national economy.

The war did not suspend the process of expanded socialist reproduction. In many branches of our economy the reproduction process was extended enormously during the war. The economic restoration of the districts freed from German occupation, a process begun while the war was still in progress, is striking a rapid page.

The Soviet Union's powerful industry and highly-developed agriculture based on the latest technique are paralleled by a tremendous rise in the country's cultural standards. Soviet people are new people, possessed of the mettle of Lenin and Stalin, are exponents of advanced ideas, confident of their strength, wholeheartedly devoted to their country, ready to give up their lives in its defence.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has become a very great power—a socialist, industrial and kolkhoz power. It stands forth as the embodiment of all that is best in the world, as the incarnation of the epoch-making victories and achievements of the revolutionary workers and peasants of our country, as the impregnable bastion of the freedom, independence and happiness of all liberty-loving peoples.

It must not be forgotten that the U.S.S.R. was insidiously attacked by the Hitlerite hordes unleashed by that stark mad corporal who was obsessed with the insane idea of conquering the Soviet Union and attaining world domination. During the four years of the Patriotic War it required the utmost exertion of effort on the part of all our people to defeat the enemy and eject him beyond the confines of the U.S.S.R. But these war years were unable to change the character of the tasks with which history confronted the Soviet state in this period of its development. The functions of the Soviet state which had superseded those of its first phase underwent further development. It became a still stronger state as it passed through the crucible of war, was tempered by the rigours of war as

steel is tempered by fire.

The Second World War showed in most convincing fashion how timely had been the warning issued by the great leader of the Soviet state to our Party, the Soviet Government and to the entire people against the danger of underrating the role which the socialist state must play, of underestimating the importance of such of its functions as the military defence of the country from foreign attack, which requires the preservation and strengthening of the Soviet Army and Navy, as well as of the punitive organs and the intelligence service—all indispensable, as Comrade Stalin pointed out more than ten years ago, "for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services."

The last few years have made it particularly clear that one of the most important functions of the Soviet state is the combating of espionage. This struggle constitutes part of a general and more comprehensive task—that of frustrating the schemes of the claimants to world domination, schemes seeking to undermine and, if at all possible, to do away with the Soviet socialist state, that insuperable obstacle in the way of the expansionist, aggressive plans of the imperialist states.

"The firm establishment of the socialist system in all branches of national economy," said Comrade Stalin, "the progress of industry and agriculture, the rising material standard of the working people, the rising cultural standard of the masses and their increasing political activity—all this, accomplished under the guidance of the Soviet power, could not but lead to the further consolidation of the Soviet system.

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. Whereas capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable antagonisms between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instability—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such antagonisms, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of

friendly collaboration between workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is this community of interest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism."*

* J. V. Stalin, *Report to the Eighteenth Congress*, pp. 58-59.

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The economic and political might of the Soviet Union, rooted in the invulnerable alliance of workers and peasants and the fraternal mutual friendship of its constituent nations, is the mainspring of the domestic as well as foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state which accords with the great principles of Socialism, is fully endorsed by the entire Soviet people, the real and sovereign masters of their country.

Herein lies one of the most important sources of the strength of Soviet foreign policy. This becomes especially clear if we analyze the deplorable, pitiable condition of even the big capitalist countries today. Britain and France are caught in the vise-like grip of ever-increasing economic, particularly financial, dependence upon the United States monopolies. Numerous facts of the recent past—especially the devaluation of the English pound and the French franc dictated by Wall Street—are cogent evidence of the loss by Britain and France of their influence and standing as great powers int eh international arena. This has left its imprint on the foreign policy of these Marshallized countries: a submissive trailing behind the chariot of the U.S. dollar. What else could there be in store for a Britain and France whose firm economic foundation is a thing of the past? They no longer have an industry which they can call their own, their agriculture is no longer stable, nor their commerce independent, nor their national currency stable or independent.

The economic roots of the capitalist economies of the West-European countries have been definitely sapped by the operation of the laws of their development which doom the weaker capitalist countries to be ousted by the economically stronger. Such is the

jungle law of competition, the law that might is right, the law that the weak shall be ruthlessly crushed.

Economically weakened and lacking support among the popular masses, the classes at the helm in Britain and France can make ends meet only by resorting to American credits, which are extended to them on exorbitant and manifestly oppressive terms. This only saps their economic strength the more.

Absolutely different is the situation in the Soviet Union, whose creative power has developed to gigantic proportions. In spite of its terrible losses during the Second World War its wounds are rapidly healing and the damage and destruction wrought by the war are being remedied at a quick pace. Its national economy is being rehabilitated with unprecedented speed, some of its branches already exceeding the prewar level. Soviet science and technology are solving in exemplary fashion problems of the greatest importance in their respective spheres, which ensures the further advancement of Soviet culture in the broadest sense of the word. Confounding the calculations of scientists in the capitalist countries, the U.S.S.R. has successfully coped with the problem of atomic energy and the atomic weapon and thus put an end to the monopoly previously held by the United States in this particular domain. This fact, everyone will agree, is highly significant not only for the further success of socialist construction in the supremely important period which the Soviet Union has now entered, the period of transition from Socialism to Communism, but also for the future course of world history.

Never before have science and technology weighed so heavily in the balance as they do in our day when man has unravelled the secret of atomic fission. Never before has the socialist state of workers and peasants been as powerful as it is now when it has fathomed this secret independently and in a minimum of time and has been able with its own resources to apply it in practice and make it serve the purposes of Socialism. Never before has the Soviet Union been so firmly entrenched, so impregnable as it is now when, in spite of all the machinations of the instigators of a new war, millions upon millions of simple folk have become imbued with the soviet ideas of peace and international collaboration, of democracy and progress—

ideas inspired by Lenin and Stalin—when the forces standing for peace and friendship among the nations are growing stronger and stronger, gaining ascendancy over the forces of reaction and aggression.

In the van of the democratic forces of peace and under the guidance of its leader of genius, Comrade Stalin, marches the Soviet Union, the great Soviet people. As V. M. Molotov said in his address on the thirty-first anniversary of the Great October Revolution, this people forms a closely-knit family of working folk which regardless of national and religious distinctions, "displayed its unbreakable solidarity and invincibility in the years of the Patriotic War and is now from day to day, by its participation in the front of labour, demonstrating the growing power of the moral and political unity and socialist consciousness of the Soviet people."*

* V. M. Molotov, *XXXI Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow 1948, p. 15.

Here we have the main reasons why the Soviet Union and the Soviet people hold such an honorable place among the fighters for a lasting democratic peace and for the security of nations.

In 1946 the U.S.S.R. submitted a proposal to the United Nations calling for a general reduction of armaments and armed forces and the prohibition of the atomic weapon. This proposal did not suit the book of those lusting for military adventure. They tried to filibuster it to death or at least to emasculate it to the point of turning it into a pacifist bauble of the League of Nations type. But the force of democratic public opinion was so great that the Soviet proposal could not be blocked. Its adoption by the General Assembly was a major event in the struggle for peace.

In 1947, at the second session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union raised its voice once more in defence of peace: its government proposed that war propaganda be banned. The significance of this step can only be fully appreciated if one bears in mind that this criminal propaganda was then at its height in a number of countries, particularly the United States, where the warmongers had cast off all restraint. The Anglo-American militarists tried to quash this proposal too. U.S. Senator Austin

stated point-blank in the Assembly that the Soviet resolution to forbid war propaganda must be "killed right away." But the attempt to murder the resolution failed. The resolution banning war propaganda was passed.

In 1948 the Soviet Union, faithfully pursuing its Lenin-Stalin foreign policy, again took up the cudgels for peace. This time is proposed that the five powers—the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Great Britain, China and France—should reduce their armed forces and armaments by one third and outlaw the atom bomb. But the U.S.A. and its satellites spurned the Soviet proposal, firmly believing that the Americans had a monopoly of the atomic weapon and ought not to give up their privileged position. In explanation of this rejection the ruling circles of the United States argued that as the U.S.S.R. did not possess the atomic weapon it stood to lose nothing by its ban, whereas the U.S.A. stood to lose everything since the atom bomb was its chief weapon. The Soviet proposals were voted down.

But at the very next session of the General Assembly—the fourth, held in New York—the Soviet Union once more demanded that measures be taken in defence of peace. To this end its laid before the Assembly proposals to counteract the preparation of a new war, and to conclude a five-power pact designed to consolidate peace.

It is of importance to note here that a TASS statement published at about the same time made it plain to the whole world that the U.S.S.R. does have the atomic weapon. Yet it has not changed its stand with regard to the atomic weapon. The Soviet Union insists, as it has insisted heretofore, that the atom bomb be prohibited on account of its barbarity, that it is a weapon of aggression, that its use is incompatible with membership of the United Nations Organization and outrages the honour and conscience of the peoples.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of pursuing the consistent and courageous defence of peace and of counteracting any attempt to engineer a new war. Such is the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., a policy dictated by eh principles inherent in the great teaching of Lenin and Stalin, dictated by the program of struggle for Communism; a policy responsive to the vital interests of the Soviet and all other peaceable peoples—a truly socialist policy. It derives

its strength from its great aims, from its lofty principles, from its righteousness, which holds out the promise of prosperity and happiness to the hundreds of millions of working people, to all humanity.

Soviet foreign policy is immune to defeat because it expresses the will of the peoples that constitute the Soviet Union, because the Soviet peoples are headed by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the militant vanguard of the popular masses, which, guided by Comrade Stalin, leads ever onward the peoples of our Motherland. This is the basis upon which the epoch-making victories of the Soviet Union rest. Lenin and Stalin teach that the task of leading the people implies "the ability of the vanguard to *lead* the rearguard, to march forward *without losing contact* with the masses. But the vanguard cannot keep in contact with the masses, cannot really lead millions of people unless—and this is the one decisive condition—unless *the masses have learnt by their own experience that the instructions, directives and slogans of the vanguard are correct.*"*

* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 10, p. 28.

In our country this condition exists. Hence the successes which Socialism has achieved in our country, successes which bear the imprint of the wisdom of our leader, Comrade Stalin

At the Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held at the end of May 1924, the first congress after V. I. Lenin's death, Comrade Stalin, speaking of the growing importance of the Soviet Union and of its popularity among the masses in the capitalist countries, pointed out that this was to be explained ". . . first and foremost by the fact that ours is the only country in the world capable of prosecuting and in fact prosecuting a policy of peace, not pharisaically but honestly and openly, resolutely and consistently. Today everyone, both friend and foe, admits that our country is the only one that can rightly be called a bulwark, a standard-bearer of the policy of peace throughout the world."*

* *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 239.

Twenty-five years, a quarter of a century, have elapsed since then.

Today the Soviet Union is no longer waging a solitary struggle for peace. Ranged alongside of it in the battle for peace are its true friends and comrades-in-arms, the People's Democracies, which have hoisted the flag of Socialism, each over its own land. Great hardships and excruciating ordeals fell to the lot of the Soviet state during that twenty-five-year span. But all these trials and tribulations only tempered, only strengthened still further the Land of Socialism that Lenin and Stalin have fostered.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union strides onward along the tried and tested road charted by Lenin and Stalin, never yielding an inch in the struggle for the great principles of Socialism; in the struggle for Communism, for peace, for the security and happiness of the peoples.